The Hindu Muslim Civilisation of India

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D. V. Swamy

D V Sivarao

Reprinted from
The Immortal Message
February 1941

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The following excerpts culled by Mr. D. V. SIVARAO are of topical interest as they answer many a question relating to the Hindu Moslem problem; especially the claim made by some Mussalmans that they are a race and a nation distinct from the Hindus. Ed. I. M.

February 1941

"All who believe in one God and acknowledge the Holy Prophet are true believers. The fundamental principles of Islam are few and simple. Islam knows no castes and ought not to have divisions and subdivisions. Yet we find Islam divided into sects and innumerable divisions. This is certainly against the spirit of Islam. All true believers are equal. By Mussalman Law they can all eat with each other, nay more, they can eat with the followers of the Great Prophets on whom revelation has descended. All Mussalmans can intermarry, nay more, Mussalman males can marry females from the followers of the Great Prophets. Yet the different sects of Indian Mussalmans will not intermarry even among themselves. It is the duty of all true believers to educate themselves, their wives and sons and their daughters so as to enable them to know God aright, yet ignorance is the prevailing rule amongst Indian Mussulmans."

—The Hon. M. SAYANI.

The Hon. Mr. M. Sayani in his presidential address of the Calcutta Congress in 1896 observed as follows:—

"Before the advent of the British, the Mussalmans had all the advantages, appertaining to the ruling classes. The Sovereigns and the Chiefs were their Co-religionists and so were the great land-lords and great officials. The court language was their own. Every place of trust and responsibility and carrying influence and high emoluments was by birth-right theirs. The Hindus did occupy some positions but they were tenants-at-will of the Mussalmans.

By a stroke of misfortune the Mussalmans had to abdicate their position and descend to the level of their fellow Hindu Countrymen. The Hindus who had stood in awe of their Mussalman masters were thus raised a step by the fall of their masters, with their former awe dropped their curtesy also. The Mussalmans who are a very sensitive race naturally resented the treatment and would have nothing to do with either their rulers or with their fellow subjects. Meanwhile the English education was introduced by the rulers and entirely turned the tables."

Sir W. W. Hunter has given a vivid account of this historical retrospect :—

"In the last century Mussalman collectors gathered the Company's land-tax in Bengal. Mussalman Fouzdars and Ghatwals officered its police. A great Mussalman Department, with its head quarters in the Nawab Nizam's palace at Murshidabad, and a network of Mussalman officials over every district in lower Bengal, administered the Criminal Law. Mussalman jailors kept ward over the prison population of Northern India; Kazis or Mohammedan Doctors of Law presided in the Civil and domestic Courts. When the Company first attempted to administer Justice by means of trained English officers in its Bengal possessions, the Mohammedan Law Doctors still sat with them as their authoritative advisers on points of law. The Code of Islam remained for many purposes the Law of the land; and the ministerial and subordinate officers of Govt. continued to be the almost hereditary property of the Mussalmans. But with the introduction of English Education "The Hindus began to pour into every grade of official life; and the State System of education in 1854 completed the revolution." Teaching

Nazim's

disappeared everywhere even in the mosques..... The Mussalmans lost all ground..... It became apparent that western instruction was producing not only a redistribution of employment but also an upheaval of races.

Learning of a foreign language required hard application and industry. The Hindus were accustomed to this even under the Mussalmans. The Mussalmans lost political power and were gradually ousted from their lands, and their offices. They kept themselves aloof from anything that brings them into contact with the Hindus (viz. education) They were soon reduced to a state of utter poverty and ignorance."

Bishop Heber who travelled extensively in India wrote as follows on 10-1-1824 *

"They (the Mohammedans) are in personal apperance a finer race than the Hindoos ; they are also more universally educated and on the whole I think a better people in as much as their faith is better. They are haughty and irascible, hostile to the English as those who have supplanted them in their sovereignty over the country, and notoriously oppressive and avarcious in their dealings with their idolatrous countrymen whereever they are yet in authority. They are, or supposed to be more honest and to each other they are not uncharitable, but they are, I fear less likely, at present than the Hindoos to embrace Christianity though some of them read our Scriptures They have however contracted in this country many superstitions of castes and images for which their western brethren the Turks and Arabs are ready to excommunicate them and what is more strange, many of them, equally in opposition to their own religion and that of the Hindoos are exceeding drunkards."

Islam and India:‡ "Under the influence of Indian and Persian Scholars the primitive philosophy of the Quoran had been expanded into the mystical interpretations of the Sufi School by which the poetry of Islam became a lyrical version of the Vedanta. After the fall of the Ommayad Dynasty the Persians became the intellectual leaders of Islam in Asia with the Arabs and Turks as their disciples. (Ibid P. 280)

Even by the time of Allauddin, the typical Muslim came to regard India as his spiritual home and to make Islam in India the highest expression of a great world-religion. The process had already begun when the doctors of Islam under Harun-al-Raschid began to expand the primitive doctrine of Islam by the study of Indian religious thought. It was continued when the Arabs gained a firm footing in Aryavartha and again when Mahmud of Ghazni filled the harems of the Mussalman world with Indian women and sent thousands of Indian craftsmen forth to make their religion serve the material as well as the spiritual needs of Islam in Western Asia. The Indian craftsman was always a religious teacher, and the foundations of the belief were not shaken when he took a Muslim name and invoked the deity as Allah instead of Ishvara. The final conquest of Hindusthan brought the baser elements of Islam into close contact with Indian civilisation. But even while India lay prostrate and bleeding under the oppressor's foot the Indian ideal was slowly permeating the social and spiritual life of the Mohammedan conquerors and Islam was adjusting its dogmas to the Indian religious synthesis. (Ibid P. 307-308)

The psychological effect of the Mohammedan conquest: The sword of Islam was the Creator's pruning knife which removed the decaying branches and cut back the unfruitful growth of the tree of knowledge he had planted in Aryavartha.

The first effect of the Mohammedan invasions and break-up of many ancient seats of Brahmanical learning was therefore a great impetus to Aryan Culture in the Deccan and Southern India, a rush of learned Brahmins and skilled Craftsmen

* Bishop Heber's Journal Vol III. P. 266.

‡ .E B. Havell's Aryan Rule in India, Pp. 280—406.

the free village community was essentially an imperial democracy. (Ibid P. 404-5)

The Mussulman political creed increased the rigour of the caste system and aroused a revolt against it. It held out alluring prospects to the lower strata of Hindu Society, Islam was like the Renaissance of Europe, a city-cult. It made the nomad leave his tent and sudra abandon the village, but it left the heart of India and the village unchanged." (Ibid.P.405-6).

Islam in India *

" Islam represents to the low caste what the Buddhist orders once represented —a perfect democracy in which stains of birth, of blood, of occupation are all blotted out by the utterance of the formula of fraternity. There is no God but God and Mohamed is his prophet.

The word Shaik prefixed to the name indicates that he comes of a family so adopted by conversion. The vast majority of Mohmmedan cultivators, boatmen, and builders of India are thus Hindu by blood and Moslem by creed. The Gods of the old faith become the Saints or "Pirs" of the new. They pray at their tombs to the dead as well as for them and are regarded indulgently by the orthodox and learned of the new faith as illiterate and therefore superstitious.

The puritan side of Islam finds expression in the Sunni sect, and the ornate aspect in the Shia. It is the Shias who commemorate the Caliph Ali and the deaths of Hassan and Hussain. They carry the tombs of the martyrs in procession at the Muharram, and whenever they are bereaved they mourn for the family of Ali instead of for their own. Geographically the Shias are Persian and in India are most numerous in Bengal and round Lucknow.‡ The sterner and narrower faith of Sunnism formed the royal faith of Delhi and Hyderabad.

The influence of the Indian environment is felt further in many social developments of Islamic Community. It is not unnatural that there should be a great aptitude for the formation of castes, and a stern refusal to break bread with those who are not of the chosen group. In other directions also there is approximation to custom. Many Mussulman families in Bengal would turn with horror from eating beef. The wife insists that her own hands and no others should cook the food eaten by the husband. The re-marriage of widows is discountenanced by the highest standards of taste, and in the royal family of Delhi, the life of a widowed princess was spent exactly like that of a Hindu woman who had lost her husband: in austerity, prayer and study. Finally that hymn to the Ganges which is among the first things learnt by a Hindu child was written three or four centuries ago by a Mussalman.

On its divine side - ignoring those dim reaches of Sufism which only saints attain, Islam stands in India as another name for Bhakti or the melting love of God. In the songs of the people the Hindu name of Hari and the Mohammedan name of Allah are inextricably blended, and as one listens to the boatmen singing while they mend their nets, one cannot distinguish the hymn from the poem of love."

Islam and Hinduism—Unity of Indian Life

" In devotion to the mother, and in chivalry for old age, Mahommedan and Hindu, high and low, in India are absolutely at one. It is a mistake to suppose that even the religious demarcation between Hinduism and Islam has the bitterness that divides for instance Geneva from Rome. Sufism with its roll of saints and Martyrs, contributes to Mohammedans a phase of development which matches Hinduism in its highest forms. The apostles of either faith are recognisable by the other. The real divergence between the two religions lies rather in the body

* (The Web of Indian Life By Sister Nivedita (P. 233.)

‡ Some twenty millions (Now 3crores) of Indian Mussalmans are Shias. Shiasm is also the State religion of Persia. There are large numbers of Shials in Hijaz in Egypt and other parts of the world but always in a minority. 'Islam'. By Ameer Ali Syed.

of associated customs, than in doctrines which are not philosophically incomprehensible. The Mohammedan derives his customs from Arabia and from a period in which the merging of many tribes in a national unity was the great need: the Hindu bases his habits on his own past and on the necessity of preserving a higher civilization from modification by lower. In other words the difference between the two deals rather with matters of household and oratory, woman and the priesthood, than with those interests out of which the lives of men and activities, civic and national are built. This fact is immediately seen wherever either faith is sovereign. Many of the highest and most trusted officers of the Hindu ruler will be Mohammedans, and to take a special instance I may say that I have nowhere heard such loyalty expressed for the Nizam of Hyderabad as by the Hindu member of his Govt. In the region north of Benares again where Mohammedanism has been tranquil and undisturbed for hundreds of years, there is something very near to social fusion between the two. A significant indication of this lies in the names given to boys which are often — like Ram Baksh, for example — compounded of roots Sanskritic and Arabic.* "

Are Indian Mussalmans a different race or nation?

The following facts compiled from the Census Report of India, 1901, will show how large a proportion of the Mussalman population is composed of indigenous elements. In Bengal the local Mohammedans most of whom belong to the agricultural classes are in the main descendants of local converts from Hinduism. In Malabar, the only place in Southern India where the faith of Islam has many adherents, the majority of Mussulmans are said to be the descendants of local converts made by the Arabs who frequented the coast as far back as the beginning of the 8th century. In Gujrat the Bohras, Khojas and Memons all of whom are now Mohammadan, are of Hindu ancestry, and in Rajaputana the Mohammedans are for the most part, "the descendants of Rajaputs who were converted in the time of the Delhi Emperors, of the remainder many are Meos, also of indigenous origin. Even in the North West India, a large portion of the present day Mohammedans have little or no foreign blood in their veins and of 14,141,122 Mohammedans in the Punjab only 1,114,243 were returned in the census of 1901 as Pathans, 491,789 as Baloch, 340,063 as Sheik, 315,032 as Saiad and 111,885 as Moghul that is to say only 16% of the total population are of foreign origin. The rest (i. e.,) about 84% are mostly converts from indigenous races such as Jats who numbered nearly 2 million the Rajputs and Arains about 1 million and the Jolahs, Awans, Gujars, Muchis, Kumbhars, Tarkhans and Telis from one to two thirds of a million each. The vast majority of the present day followers of Islam are shown by their caste designation to be the descendants of local converts. (Census Report p. 384—386.)

The following extract from the Punjab Administration report 1854—55 and 1855-56 also throws light on the same subject. There are in the Punjab 7½ millions of Mohammedans to 5½ millions of Hindus. This numerical predominance of Mohammedans is remarkable and unusual in India. From the eastern boundary that is from the river Jumna to the Chenab, the Hindus preponderate, from thence to the trans-Indus frontier and in the Southern districts the population is almost entirely Mohammedan. But among these later, while many are of pure Mohammedan extraction, ***yet many are of Hindu race converted to Mohammedanism under Moghul Emperors.***

Messrs. Garrat and Thompson the well known historians observe as follows:

"Communalism is an old Indian problem which time does little to solve. Only to a small extent is this enmity based on race or religion. It may be better regarded as the revolt of emancipa-

* Select Essays of Sister Nivedita p. 208-209 (Sister Nivedita landed in Calcutta in 1898 and made her home at Belur. She died in 1911.)

ted lower caste Indians against the social and financial domination of the higher castes. The Muslim invaders brought very few of their own countrymen into India and it is only in the extreme north of the peninsula that central Asian types are common. According to census reports hardly a sixth of the Mohammedans, even in the Punjab, are of a different race from the Hindus. The great bulk of Indian Muslims are descendants of converts; in nearly every case of converts from the lower caste Hindus. Many Hindu Customs, and some times even the caste system, still survives amongst them. (see Census Report of 1921 Section 198). But their new religion gives them a self-respect and class conciousness which are denied to those who remained in the Hindu system. Recently the work of Dr. Ambedkar and others has had a similar effect upon the depressed classes amongst the Hindus.

Almost invariably there is some economic basis to Hindu and Muslim rivalry. In many parts the Hindus are the shop-keepers and money-lenders, the Muslims peasants. In cities the petty employers and shop-keepers may be Hindu and their labourers chiefly Muslim. Sometimes, as in Bombay, north country Muslims have been brought in as strike-breakers. Where such rivalry exists, disturbances usually follow some religious provocation—the sacrificial killing of cows or the playing of music in front of mosques —but the underlying force is an economic grievance."*

Mr. Fredrick Pincott on the Hindu.Moslem Problem†

(In his weekly telegram to the TIMES, the Calcutta correspondent of that journal is endeavouring to show that the whole Mussulman population of India is opposed to the Congress, that all the followers of Mahomed are acting as one man against the Congress. This is the central point of opposition at the present moment to the Congress proposals. We, therefore, give prominence to the following observations of an eminently qualified writer, (Mr. Frederick Pincott M. P.) in the May number of the (Conservative) National Review, replying to a misleading article by Mr. H. G. Keene, C. I. E. (-ED. INDIA. 1890)

The only real ground there is for the asserted want of basis for unanimity among the people of India, is the undoubted divergence in sentiment between the Hindus and Mussulmans.

But this divergence is much less than is generally supposed; and, in the parts of the country free from the judicious outside influences, has long since ceased to be as ordinary factions. In the principal towns, more especially in those which were centres of Mussulman power, the two religions are somewhat sharply divided—a division which is more exaggerated than allayed by official discrimination. But in more remote and country places, social difference has almost disappeared; that is to say both sections of the community join in all municipal, social, and festive matters without let or hindrance on the score of religion. It is true that they do not dance and dine in each other's house; but we should remember that "Life is not all beer and skittles." What we consider social intercourse is not the custom of Asia, whether among people of the same or of different religions. This remark answers a recent writer in MADRAS MAIL, who triumphantly descanted on the fact that, after drill, the Sipahis of a regiment break up into their different religions for food and rest. It requires no "bond of discipline," as that writer thought, to hold them together on parade any more than is the case in an English Factory, where the men meet together,perform their duty, and then break up and return to their several homes. This natural and customary action implies no antagonism whatever. As far as the ordinary usages of citizenship go, Hindus and Mussulmans have long acted together in perfect harmony and that happy feeling will continue

* Rise and fulfilment of British rule in India — Edward Thompson and G. T. Garrat. p. 623.

† England in India, 1890.

to become more and more apparent. Munshi Malikha Ram tells us plainly (India Magazine for August, 1889, p. 395.) that in the Punjab, "the country people lay no great stress on religious dogmas; they are, in fact, only nominally Hindus or Mohommedans." He admits that there is a certain amount of antagonism in the towns, but states that, "This bigotry is unknown in the country; there the people live together like brothers."

The experience of Mr. Kempson, at Bareli, so long as twenty years ago, is much to the point. Now, Bareli was an important Mussulman centre, and there we might expect feeling to run high, yet in Bareli, Mr. Kempson established a Boarding School for the children of both religions.

The result was most satisfactory; there was even keen competition among parents to pay the fees and maintain their boys at that school for the applicants were always in excess of the vacancies. More marvellous still, the boys lived together in the same houses, and joined in cricket and the other amusements, just as English boys at a public school. One such fact is more valuable than much speculation.

The distribution of the Mohammedan population is a matter of much importance although no one has hitherto called the least attention to it. It is customary to speak of the Mussulmans as one-fifth of the population; and the common impression is that every fifth man you may meet throughout the vast peninsula will be a member of that faith. This would be a most erroneous conclusion; for the census shows that the Believers in the Prophet are Clustered in Certain Well-Defined Areas.

Thus, in the southern half of the peninsula, the Hindus out-number them as eighteen to one; and the small number of Mohammedans there are aggregated in a few centres of former power. In Bombay and the North-West Provinces they are but one-sixth of the population; and they are there, also, almost confined to town life. In Oudh they form but a tenth of the people; while in Bengal, notwithstanding all the ignorant slander about Babus and Bengalis, fully one-half of the people are Mohammedans. In the Punjab, however, the Mussulman population is in the ascendant; for there we find three Mahommedans for every two Hindus; and not only do they there out-number the Hindus, but they are found in all ranks and places, down to the remote corners of village life. It is evident from these unassailable facts that it is quite possible, where there a wish to do so, **to constitute fair and workable constituencies**, over the greater part of India.

In the preceding remarks I have, in conformity with usage, spoken of Mussulmans as members of one faith; but in fact, Mohammedans are divided, in India itself, into irreconcilable factions.

There is not only the well-known division into Sunnis and Shiahs, the members of which are as antagonistic to each other as they are to the Hindus; but their numerous racial differences are as acute as those arising from religious ideas. Any one familiar with India will know how accentuated are the differences between the Saiads, Shaikhs, Pathans, Moghals, Mohammedans, Rajputs, Jats, Gujans, Kashmiris, Meos, Diskkhanis, Moplas Etc., These are well marked divisions of the Mohammedan population in India; and their differences are still further aggravated by the presence among many of them of the caste system of the Hindus giving rise to the Memons, Borahs, Khojahs, Julahs, Dhaniyas, Ghosis, Kunjers, Manihars, Kassais, etc. And even these special Indian sub-divisions of Mohammedan society are in addition to, the recognised seventy three sects into which the Mussulman Faith is Divided.

It would have been fair had Mr. Keene alluded to these differences among Mohammedans, when noticing the divergencies among Hindus. In my opinion such matters have nothing whatever to do with the rights and obligations of citizens

as men; but it is evident that Mr. Keene's statement that "the Bengalis are Hindus, so are the Rajputs and the Sikhs," require considerable modification. It is amusing also to note that the Shaikhs, although Mohammedans, are invited to, and perform certain functions at Hindu marriages, they being the converted representatives of a Hindu caste to whom these functions were appropriate. What vitiates the views of those who seek to exalt Mohammedans at the expense of Hindus, is the assertion that Mohommedans ruled the whole of India, and that the British conquered the country from them. Both statements are erroneous, for during the whole period of Mohommedan power, vast portions of India remained in the possession of independent Hindu rulers, against whom the force of Islam broke in vain. Furthermore, it is a remarkable fact that with the exception of Mysore the Mohammedan rulers offered but a feeble resistance to the advance of England's troops. All the really stubborn fighting was done by the Hindus:—in the conflicts with the Rajputs, the Maharattas, the Pindaris, and in the desperate struggle with the Sikhs for the possession of the Punjab, there is absolutely no historical evidence whatever to support the assertion that the Mohammedans of India are a manlier race than their Hindu fellow countrymen; all the evidence is distinctly the other way. Their administrative capacity is notoriously inferior to that of the Hindus; and their deficiency in that respect is as conspicuous in every country in which Mohammedanism prevails as it is in India. It is the result of the mental discipline to which Mohammedans are subjected to, and has nothing to do with climate or race.

Another fact also is persistently lost sight of, and that is, that

The Bulk of the Mohammedans of India are of the same flesh and blood as their Hindu Compatriots.

It is customary to speak of them as differing in race, language, and interests from their Hindu fellow-subjects. This error lurks in Mr. Keene's mind, while it is rampant in the utterances of those who think it good policy to set peaceful citizens by the ears. The sober truth is that a few hundred years ago, under the pressure of Persian conquest, many millions of Indians were led to profess the Mohammedan faith. Their descendants, have remained in that profession, and, by the natural increases of population favoured by their more intimate alliance with the ruling class, these descendants of converted Hindus have expanded to their present proportion. But this change of faith has not changed their nationality, nor their language, nor their wants, nor their interest in the country, nor anything else that could debar them from uniting in the attainment of common political rights, common defence from aggression, and common facilities for commercial and intellectual progress. To infer, as Mr. Keene does, that the Mohammedan half of the people of Bengal would refuse to co-operate with the other half of securing a voice in the management of Indian affairs, is to imply that Mohammedans are mere fools.

Now the favourite theory of the opponents of the Congress is that the Mussulmans are the politically superior race; but would their superiority be shown in any such weak-minded abstention? Are they so silly as to suppose that they would not benefit by any remissions of taxation, or improvements in administration, which might be secured by united action? I will not insult my Mohammedan fellow-subjects with any such humilitating surmises. Those among them whom I have met are men of intelligence and discernment, and are quite as anxious to secure the happiness of their country as their Hindu brethern. I refuse to consider them aliens of India as emphatically as they themselves would repel the assertion. To assert the contrary is as derogatory to them as to maintain that the Protestants of England ceased to be Englishmen because they changed their faith at the time of the Reformation. The Mussulmans are as much Indians, in every sense of the word, as the Hindus, Sikhs, Jains, Parsis, Buddhists and Christians, they have the

Untouchability among Muhammadan
P. 98-99 Modern Rev 1936 (2)

The following facts were disclosed in the P. Judgment of the Punjab Chief Court in Makhfussan vs Mussurian reported in the 18th Volume of Indian Cases 323

The Hijras of Delhi and some other towns of the Eastern Punjab are all Muhammadans Hindus who join the fraternity because Muhammadans to the extent of professing the religion. They are known not permitted to serve in mosques in the Punjab and are looked upon as an isolated class not fully admitted to the general body of Muhammadans

In Bengal also Muhammadans are not free from untouchability and caste

Sir Edward Gait in the Bengal Census report 1901 p 439 says

In some places ... a class called Arzal or lowest of all is added. It consists of the very lowest castes such as the Halai Khar Lalbegi Abdal and Bediya with whom no other Mahomedan would associate

and who are forbidden to enter the Mosque or to use the Public Burial ground.

Sir Edward Gait mentions about 55 Muhammadan castes. Bengal Census report 1901 p 443 et seq

The Abdals or Dokhlas are found in North Bengal Purnea and Mymensingh .... They are regarded as degraded and other Muhammadans will not eat with them. They may enter the mosque but are not permitted to worship in company with the better classes nor are they allowed to be buried in the public cemetery. Census Part V § 79 1901

Bediya is a generic term for gipsy in Bengal. They are not allowed the use of mosque or burial ground

The Chik and Kasai are butchers ... Both communities are strictly endogamous. They rank very low and the more respectable classes will not associate or eat with them. Ibid. § 837

In Rajshahi Abdals serve tobacco in chillums to the people attending hats or markets. Other Muhammadans do not eat with them nor do they drink water touched by them

The Chalalai Mirasdars ... are frequently [illegible] by other Musalmans. Both do not eat or drink [illegible] [illegible] nor [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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same claims and interests, and no one has the right to separate them from the general body of their countrymen, and to subject them politically to exceptional treatment.

The supposed rivalry between Mussulmans and Hindus is ***A Convenient Decoy to Distract Attention, and to defer the day of Reform.***

I do not wish to assert that there is no antagonism between the adherents of the two faiths; but I do most positively assert that the antagonism has been grossly exaggerated. Every municipal improvement and charitable work finds members of the two faiths working together, and subscribing funds to carry it out. Every political newspaper in the country finds supporters from believers in both creeds. Just as the same is witnessed in the proceedings of the Congress .. The members of the Congress meet together as men, on the common basis of nationality, being citizens of one country, subjects of one power, amenable to one code of laws, taxed by one authority, influenced for weal or woe by one system of administration,...urged by like impulse to secure like rights, and to be relieved of like burdens. If these are not sufficient causes to wield a people together into one common alliance of nationality, it is difficult to conceive what would be sufficient. It is for this reason that the organization has been called the "Indian National Congress"; not because, as many besides Mr. Keene have assumed, that it claims a non-existent unity of race, but because it deals with rights and interest which are national in character and matters in which all the inhabitants of the Indian peninsula are equally concerned. *

Under the Caption " **The Civilisation of Northern India.— A contribution to the study of Hindu-Moslem relations** ", Mr. Rabindra Narayan Ghosh, M. A., had contributed a series of five articles in Dawn and Dawn Society's Magazine of Calcutta in the year 1911.

The Editor of that Magazine in his prefactory note observed :—

In this series of articles the writer approaches the subject of Hindu Moselm relations in the present and in the past from the standpoint of Hindu-Moslem culture, literary, artistic, social and religious, as distinguished from the politico-economic view-point from which the question is ordinarily approached by most of our publicists. He seeks to establish what appears at first sight to be a very remarkable statement that much of Hindu culture as it obtains in Upper India is of Muhammedan origin and *vice versa*, that much of Muhammedan culture is of Hindu origin ; and that, consequently, if the subject of Hindu-Moslem relations be approached from the standpoint of Indian culture it will be found, to quote the words of the writer himself that "the Hindus and Mahomedans of Northern India represent certain common traditions and common modes of expression which may properly be styled neither Hindu nor Muhammadan, but simply **North Indian**" The importance of a study at the present moment of the Hindu-Moslem problem from the standpoint of Actual facts in the life and civilisation of Northern India during the last five or six hundred years or more cannot be overrated; for the theory of Hindu-Muhammaden separation has been within very recent times gaining popularity. In this connection we beg to draw the reader's attention to a very similar view enunciated at Secunderabad in 1901 by the renowned Mahomedan scholar, Dr. Syed Ali Bilgramy †—whose recent death is a great public loss—at a meeting in honour of the late Mr. Ranade :

* India in England Vol II. G. P. Varma & Bros. Press Lucknow 1890.

† He is the author of a translation of Le Bon's Civilisation of the Arabs from French into Urdu-a book highly spoken of, and was also lecturer in Marathi at the Oxford University. The late Mr. Syed Ali Bilgrami was a great scholar and linguist, being remarkable for the ease and facility with which he acquired a knowledge of a large number of Oriental and European languages. He has devoted

"So much are we, Mussalmans of India, wedded to our country that we have been called and are being called to this day by all the Mussalmans of Turkey, Persia and other Muslim countries, by the generic name of 'Hindi', which I need scarcely tell you, though phonetically different, is morphologically the same as Hindu. But this is not all. Being Mussalmans of India, we are intellectually and socially superior to all the barbarian hordes of Central Asia to the inhabitants of Turkey and Persia, and to most of the races who characterise us as Hindus... Just as the Sassanian literature and Sassanian culture reacted on Islam in Persia and produced men like Jelaluddin Rumi and Omar Khayyam; so has the marvellous philosophy and culture of India reacted on Islam in this country and produced the Indian Mussalmans. The question of the influence of ancient civilisation on Islam in various countries, is of deep interest to the student of History. But I have neither time nor is this a fitting occasion to enter into it. My point is simply this: that we, Mussalmans of India, are the product of Islam, acting on and being reacted in turn, by the ancient civilisation of India."

I

In most of our present day discussions in the press and on the platform, of the problems of Indian nationality, the questions are approached almost exclusively from the political and economic standpoints, and seldom from the side of inner cultural development, religious, literary, social, and artistic. For instance, one of the most trying and consequently the most frequently discussed problems is that of Hindu-Mahammadan Unity. This problem has hitherto been sought to be solved by emphasising the common interests, political and economic, of both communities as children of one soil, and by pointing out how these interests can best be served by the united efforts of Hindus and Muhammadans. Nay, it is supposed that political and economic interests furnish the only common grounds on which Hindus and Mahammadans can meet as brothers and comrades, and that beyond this, in the fields of inner culture, social, religious, literary and artistic, the interests of the two communities lie far apart, and that any emphasis on these more intimate concerns of Hindu-Muhammadan life will only serve to stir up differences and hostilities. Plausible as this prevalent view of Hindu-Muhammadan relations undoubtedly is, a closer view and analysis of the whole of modern Indian culture, especially of the culture of Northern India, will show that the present views of most Indian publicists on this question are mainly the result of either a misconception or an ignoring of the actual situation. For the notion that as regards art, religion, literature and social culture India is to be conceived of and treated as Hindu India plus Muham maden India; the two being regarded as water-tight compartments sharply differentiated from, and exclusive of each other—this notion loses its speciousness as soon as we come to look closely into the actual facts of modern Indian and especially of North Indian life. It is only a proper realisation of the composite or rather synthetic character of the civilisation of Northern India, and a proper study also of the nature and sources of the broad features of Hindu and Islamic culture which go to make it up, that can give us an insight into the real nature of Hindu Moslem relations in India. Such a study will reveal the striking fact that much of Hindu culture as it obtains in Upper India is of Muhammadan origin, and much of Muhammadan culture is of Hindu origin;-nay, in many fields of social and artistic culture, such as music, painting, architecture, dress and social etiquette as also in the fields of literary and religious culture, in so far as these are traditional and unaffected by modern conditions of

many years to study of Sanskrit and was perhaps the only Mahommedan who had the rare distinction of being appointed on several occassions as an examiner in Sanskrit by the Madras University. Mr. Syed Ali Bilgrami who was a high official in the Hyderabad State was the younger brother of Mr. Syed Hasan Bilgrami who was one of the two Indians appointed for the first time to the India Council by Lord Morley.

life and thought, the Hindus and Muhammadans of Northern India represent certain common traditions, and common modes of expression, which present a unique synthesis of Hindu-Moslem culture-a synthesis which may properly be styled neither Hindu nor Muhammaden, but simply **North Indian.**

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To begin with, we may take a typical, though simple case, which will serve to indicate how very closely the strands of Hindus and Moslem culture have been interwoven to make up the beautiful web of North Indian life. Every one knows that the Benares Sari is held all over Northern India, and especially in Bengal, as a treasured possession in all Hindu homes, and even regarded with a sort of sacred feeling being worn on all sacred and ceremonial occasions. All the associations that cluster round this Sari in silk & gold are peculiarly Hindu and there is not the slightest suggestion of incongruity in its use as a sacred robe on Hindu ceremonial occasions. Yet the designing and weaving of this most intimately Hindu commodity has for generations been mostly in the hands of the hereditary Muhammaden weavers of Benares, who form a close brotherhood, and who have been handing on the traditional methods and designs of the craft from generation to generation.* Here we have the apparently anomalous case of a commodity intended for the use of Hindus and to be used by them in some of the most intimate and sacred concerns of their life, designed and woven almost exclusively by a guild of Muhammadan weavers. This anomaly can only be explained by supposing, on the part of the Muhammaden craftsman, a sympathy with, and understanding of some at least of the intimate feelings and idiosyncracies of his Hindu buyer. But the Benares Sari is only a typical case. In almost all the industrial arts that have for ages been acting as a beautifying and refining influence in the life of Upper India, such for instance as carpet and shawl weaving, cotton-printing, embroidery, stone and wood-carving, bidri and enamel work, brass inlaying in wood and so on, the Hindu and Muhammadan craftsmen work side by side, and their work is regarded by members of both communities as quite in keeping with the general spirit and atmosphere of their traditional home and civic life. The Surahi, the Hukka bowl, the Chillam, the Pandan, the Attardan, the Shawl, the carpet, and in fact many of the articles in use in elegant society, are made in numerous varieties, by Hindu and Mussalman craftsmen for members of both communities. The art of ornamentation of copper and brass by means of lac is essentially Muhammaden, but it has been largely adopted by the Hindu workers of Jaipur, one result of this being that Muhammaden craftsman, in response to a popular Hindu demand, and following the lead of the Hindu workers of Jaipur, are taking to the production of Hindu (often mythological)designs. (vide Sir George Watt's Indian Art at Delhi, P. 20).‡ Again, the art of enamelling on gold is one of the premier arts of Jaipur, and is in the hands of Hindu craftsmen. But they have to obtain their colours in opaque, vitreous masses from Lahore, where they are prepared by Muhammaden **Manikars** or bracelet-makers (Ibid pp. 22-23). Take another case. The weaving of silk **Lungis** or **Pagris**, which is an important industry in certain towns in the Punjab, such as Peshawar, Kohat, Bhawalpur and Multan, is carried on both by Hindu and Mahammaden craftsmen, so that at the Delhi Exhibition of 1903 side by side with the goods made by Haji Malik Rahman and Gholam Hossain of Peshawar were exhibited those by Kishan Das and Tulsi Ram of Bhawalpur (Ibid., p. 301) Many such instances might be given but one of the most striking features of this blending of Hindu Muhammadan elements in the practice and patronage of the crafts has been thus strikingly described by Sir George Watt in his Indian Art at Delhi (P. 66) a book from which we have already quoted. "In travelling from

* Vide Prize Essays on trade guilds in India, by Dr. Coomaraswamy in The Modern Review, March 1911.

‡ The Sri Yanthra used in Puja is cut in 'Sphatica' stone in Benares by Muhammaden Sculptors.

one end of India to the other in the study of crafts and industries, one circumstance is brought home to the observer more forcibly than almost any other, namely, that while a very large percentage of the skilled labour is Muhammadan, the industries are financed and controlled by Hindus. The division of labour is often carried to remarkable extents. For instance, the designers in the **Kinkhab** craft are exclusively Muhammadans, the weavers largely Hindus, while the owners of factories and the traders in **Kinkhabs** are almost exclusively Hindus. This state of affairs prevails all over India, and even in Rajputana the majority of the stone masons are Muhammadans. In another passage of the same book Sir George Watt refers in particular to this feature in the practice of the craft as noticed in the **Kinkhab** trade of Benares. "In Benares the writer was enabled, through the enthusiastic co-operation of the Collector, Mr. Radice, to visit all the leading **Kinkhab** weavers at their factories and to discuss with them the origin of the designs in use: It then transpired that there are usually three persons concerned with the **Kinkhab** trade - the designer who is invariably a Muhammadan; the weaver who may be either a Hindu or a Muhammadan ; and the vendor or trader who is almost invariably a Hindu". (Ibid. p. 335).

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The process of mutual assimilation in forms and designs of the material surroundings and appanages of Hindu and Muhammaden life in Upper India is nowhere so markedly prominent as in the case of dress and architecture. The civic outdoor dress worn by the males, consisting of the **Jama**, and the **Pagri**, is the same for both communities: The common indoor costume, both of Hindus and Muhammadans in many parts of Northern India, especially in the villages, is the simple **Dhoti** and **Chadar**. Parts of the female attire again, the **Angia**, the embroidered scarf or veil, and the folded skirts of the sari or the petticoat as the case may be are common to the two communities in many parts of Upper India.

In Architecture also, especially in civic and secular architecture,the prevalent traditional style in Upper India-such as one notices in the palaces, Serais, street fronts and bathing ghats of the great cities of Rajputana, Central India, the Punjab and the United Provinces, is the result of a remarkable blending of Hindu and Muhammadan features. The bulbous domes, sometimes in a foliated form, the pointed arches, the octagonal kiosks and towers, as also some of the ornamental floral designs carved on walls and window-screens, that are so characteristic of Indian architecture, Hindu and Muhammadan, in Northern India, are probably all to be traced to a Muhammadan source. While the richly carved stone brackets and projecting balconies, the carved square pillars supporting horizontal architraves and flat ceilings, and in general the tendency towards elaborate carving and ornamentation of wall-spaces,—features which are very often to be observed in combination with the more or less Saracenic features noted above in one and the same structure, are strictly of Hindu origin. This intermingling of features of the two styles has been carried on for such length of time, and often with such taste and propriety that the result is in most cases free from the defects of a merely hybrid style, and it is really very difficult to-day to point out with any degree of precision the features and details which have been derived from either of the two streams of culture, Hindu or Islamic. In religious architecture, it is true the Hindu and the Muhammadan styles show marked differences, as may be expected from the divergence of the Quoranic ideals, with their strong aversion to plastic representations of religious subjects, and their insistence on the sharp differentiation of the secular from the sacred concerns of life, from the mythological conception of the Hindu Puranas and the Hindu ideal of the apotheosis of common life. The Moslem provides in his mosques blank wall spaces decorated, if at all, with floral designs, and the beautiful lettering of the Arabic Quoran, and vast dome roofed halls affording praying-room for vast congregations; while the Hindu covers his

temple walls from top to botom with carvings which represent not only the stories and pageants of his gods and Avatars but also scenes from the common life of man and beast and plant woven as it were like an "embroidered veil" on the mystery of the infinite enshrined in the darkness of the cell. But here also in field of religious architecture forces of social contact operating through long centuries have made themselves felt. The semi-religious tombs of the Rajput princes in cities like Udaipur and Alwar, and the tomb of Ranjit Singh, the Sikh hero, at Lahore, are markedly Saracenic in form and yet in most cases preserve the essential characteristics of the Jain style. The Saracenic dome, and especially its foliated variety has been largely adopted by the Jaina community of Northern & Western India in their temples. The comparatively young community of the Sikhs, whose religion, however, has not up till now furnished much impulse towards architectural achievements on any large scale, have in their central Golden Temple at Amritsar drawn largely from the Indo-Saracenic architecture then in vogue. Nay, even in Bengal, scholars are tempted to see in the pointed arches and octagonal towers of the brick temples of the country, signs of the borrowing of Saraceni forms by Hindu architects as a result of the close and friendly intercourse of Hindus and Muhammadans during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. On the other hand, the presence of Hindu and Jaina features in the pillared cloisters and carving of the old Muhammadan mosques and tombs at Delhi, Ahmedabad, Ajmir, Gaur, Jaunpur Etc., is a remarkable feature of Indian architectural history. It is to be remembered that the early Muhammadan rulers, and to a large extent their successors, too, had to employ Hindu and Jaina architects on most of their religious buildings, and naturally these Indian architects contributed not a little towards the formation of what is known as the Indo-Saracenic style.*

As in Architecture, so in the allied field of Painting, the close intermingling of Hindu and Mohammadan elements is a striking feature of the art as still practised by the few traditional artists of Northern India, Hindu or Muhammadan, who still survive the general decay that has overtaken the art during the last century owing to the lack of enlightened patronage and fresh inspiration. Here we notice the evolution of a common style and technique, as also a common storehouse of artistic Motifs and a common range of subjects. The subjects, taken either from Persian romance or from the traditional lore of India, or from contemporary Indian life, Hindu or Muhammadan are treated by painters of both communities, in spite of the Quoranic prohibition against the portraiture of human and animal life which has always kept a class of orthodox Mussalmans away from the practice and patronage of the art. So that, in spite of the fact that such centres of the art as Jaipur and the Kangra valley represent a more or less pure Hindu tradition, elsewhere in cities over which the influence of Mughal rule was exercised more directly, a synthetic Hindu-Mussalman style was evolved, a style which owed as much to Hindu as to Muhammadan talent and initiative. Nay, in the practice of this synthetic art of miniature painting, Hindu and Mussalman artists have never scrupled to accept as masters artists belonging to the opposite faith.

II

Take again the case of the far more living art of Music. Here the mingling of Hindu and Mahommeden has been even more intimate than in the case of architecture or painting. The classical Music of Northern India, both vocal and instrumental, is in the hands of a class of hereditary musicians, Hindu as well as Muhammadan who follow the same system and principles, and sing or play the same songs and tunes

*(Fergusson- Indian and Eastern Architecture, pp. 473, 466; Manomohan Chakravarti M. R. A S., Bengali Temples and their Characteristics, in J. A. S. B., May, 1909, pp. 147-149 also Sir George Watt's Indian Art at Delhi, p. 66.)

and on the same instruments. The system is essentially based on the old Hindu system of Music, but modified to a large extent by the grafting on it of Persian elements, a process which was first systematically carried out by the celebrated Amir Khusrau, poet and musician, who flourished at Delhi at the court of the Khiliji and Tughlak monarchs. Even the names of some of the Rags and Raginis now in use, such for example as *Iman-Kalyan* bear evidence in this process, Iman, a Persian word, being the name of a Persian tune which was grafted on an old Hindu Rag which bore the Sanskrit name *Kalyan*. Both Hindu and Muhammadan musicians inherit a common tradition and honour the memory of the celebrated Tan Sen, himself a Hindu convert to Muhammadanism, to whom they attribute the fixing of the traditions of the art as now pracitsed. Hindu musicians do not feel the slightest scruple to enlist themselves as disciples or **Sakreds** as they are called, of Muhammadan masters (**Ustad**) and *Vice Versa*, and the relations between master and disciple in these cases, in spite of the difference of religion and race, are always of an intimate and sacred character, and quite in keeping with the best Oriental and especially Indian ideals of discipleship. The same unifying tendencies are also to be seen in the matter of patronage. Hindu and Muhammadan princes and noblemen have never scrupled to employ at their courts or households musicians drawn from both the communities, and one can always witness in musical assemblies in Northern India, the unique spectacle of Hindu and Mussalman musicians seated together on the same carpet with their **Bins** (Sanskrit: Vina), Sitars and Tamburahs and pouring forth their divine music in indiscriminate succession to one another, and often to the accompaniment of a Mridang or Tabla played by a brother musician of the opposite faith. But the degree of intimacy attained by the two communities in this field of music is best seen in the wording and subject-matter of the songs sung on these occasions. It is a well marked characteristic of Indian Music, whether in the North or in South that it is essentially religious, and even where the theme turns of the passion of love, it is more often than not the love of Radha for Krishna which is a symbol of the human love for the divine. The songs of Northern India quite naturally turn mainly on this love of Radha for Krishna, or on selfless devotion to Rama or Siva, and even where the theme is of a more abstract or universal appeal to the religious sentiment, the imagery and wording is very often peculiarly Hindu. On the other hand, Muhammadan religious songs of a devotional character are not wanting; nay, some of them, owing to the influence of Sufi doctrines* are of as passionate a character as the Radha-Krishna songs of the Hindus. But no Hindu or Muhammadan singer feels the slightest scruple to sing the religious songs belonging to the other faith; nay, similarity of motive which characterises the Hindu and Sufi songs, and the catholic and tolerant character of the religious sentiments embodied in the songs of some of the greatest composers of Northern India, such as Tan Sen, and Kabir and Nanak, has effected a greater and more real community of feeling than could ever be effected by the mere adoption of a common technique.

The same fellowship in the practice of a common art, and the same community of feeling which characterises Hindu-Moslem relations in the classical music of Northern India is also observable in connection with the more popular Music of the Folk-songs and of the **Naubat or Raushan Chauki.** One of the most striking features of life in Hindustan is the important part which the folk-songs play in that

* Sufism represents a mystic development of Muhammadanism, of which the leading principle is that of earthly love as the imperfect type and symbol of love for the Divine. Most of the great poets of Persia and Muhammadan India were either sufis themselves or deeply influenced by Sufi doctrine and so far thetr productions are akin in sentiment and imagerv to the devotional Vaishanava poetry of India.

life. No domestic or religious ceremony, whether the occasion be a birth, a marriage or a Holi or Sab-i-barat, is complete without the singing of these folk songs by the women of the village or household as the case may be. All forms of joint labour, such as grinding of corn, removal of heavy loads, rowing a boat or beating the mortar on a newly built roof are accompanied by these songs which serve to mitigate hardship and tedium of the work in hand. Nay, the very changes of the seasons are occasions for musical festivities The singing of what are known as Kajri songs during the rains in the month of Sravan by parties of men and women going out on the meadows and orchards on the outskirts of the village is an instance in point. (For an account of these Kajri songs, see Crooke, "Religious songs of Northern India," Indian Antiquary, pp, 325-327, December 1910.)

Now, it is a remarkable feature of North-Indian life that here also in the matter of the folk-songs, ceremonial, or non-ceremonial the Hindus and the Muhammadans to a certain extent share a common tradition and draw upon a common store-house of songs. At the birth of a Mussalman child, in many parts of Bihar and Upper India, the songs sung are not those of Mussalman conception, but such in which allusions to Sri Krishna, the Hindu God, are frequent. Here are two of these songs which are sung all over the country in Mussalman house-holds.

Albeli Jacha man kare **NandLall** se.
Sohagan jacha man kara **Nand Lall** se.

Albeli ne mujhe dard diya
Sanwalya ne mujhe dard diya.

The gist of the songs is as follows:—

The mother desired Nand Lal for an offspring; the happy mother desired Nand Lal (for an offspring)

(My child) has caused me to ail, Dark-blue one has caused me to ail

In these songs "Nand Lall" and Sanwalya as pointed out by a Muhammadan writer, are none but Shri Krishna. (Vide an article by Mr. Mazharul Haque Bar-at Law in Modern Behar 1910. p. 8)

The Hindi wedding songs sung on nuptial occasions by Mussalman ladies in many parts of Bihar and Upper India, are also Hindu, as has been so well pointed out by Maulavi Syed Ahmed the author of "Rasum-i-Delhi" i. e. The (Mussalman, customs of Delhi, who remarks "From the words, ideas and language of these songs we get proofs of Hindu customs and beliefs." And how very intimately these Hindu songs have wound themselves round the heartstrings of all Mussalmans that have been brought up in the atmosphere created by these simple but heart-touching — lyrics will appear from the following characteristic observation of a cultured and distinguished Muhammadan gentleman:—"It is earnestly to be desired that these lovely songs will not be banished from Muslim homes, for they are at once the delight of the young and old, and Indian life could be dry and monotonous indeed without them."

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A characteristic feature of some of the popular folk-songs of Northern India, and especially of the Punjab and Sindh, is the way in which Hindu and Muhammadan legends and traditions are impartially drawn upon in the course of the same song. One such typical Punjabi song entitled "The Troubles of Love" was published with an English translation in the Indian Antiquary for June. 1909 by Mr. H. A. Rose. By way of introducing this song, Sir Richard Temple, the learned Editor of the journal, himself the foremost authority on Punjabi folk-literature and author of a monumental book on the Legends of the Punjab, remarks:—

This typical production of the Panjabi bard is interesting in many ways, but chiefly because it contains reference to nearly all the love-tales that are familiar in every household in the Punjab. The list is delightfully eclectic as usual. Thus we have allusions to the Hindn Mediaev

folk tales of Puran Bhagat and Namdev and to the Hindu classical stories of Hiranya Kasipu, Prahlada and Harischandra, and are favoured with a brief outline of the legend of Sita and Ram as it has descended to the modern Punjab. Then we have the Muhammadan classical tales of Yusuf and Zulaikha and of Laili and Majnun and the more modern Shirin and Farhad. Next we have the essentially Punjabi modern but nevertheless classical, tales of Mirza and Shahiban and of Hir and Ranjha and of the great story of the Southern Indus Region. Sassi and Punnun. And lastly there is an Illusion to the charecteristic Punjabi saintly tale of Rode Shah. All these legends are given in full in Sir Richard Temple's legends of the Punjab. Such of them as are popular in Sindh also have been summarised in Burton's Sindh. A substance of the tale of Sassui and Punhu was given in the course of an article on "Sindhi Musalmans: their Holy men and Bards," appearing in the March, 1906, number of the journal. Note has to be taken of the fact that the tales here referred to as "essentially Punjabi modern but nevertheless classical." are Muhammadan love stories bearing a Sufi or religio — mystic interpretation. Some idea of the popularity of these songs both among Hindus and Mussalmans will be gained from the following remarks on the tale of Sassui and Punhu. the most popular of them all from Burton's Sindh:— "It is known throughout the country between Mekran and Afghanisthan Jesulmere and Eastern Persia, and exists in the Sindhi, Persian, Jatki and Belochi languages. The Hindus possess the story in the Punjabee and other dialects and generally write it in Gurumukhi characters... Very few of the wild tribes of Sindh and Beluchistan are ignorant of this legend. The camel-man on his journey, the hordsman tending his cattle, the peasant toiling at his solitary labours, all while away the time by chanting in rude and homely verse the romantic adventures of Sassui and Punhu."

Not the least remarkable feature of this story is that Sassui, the heroine of the story, is the daughter of a Brahmin of Thatta, while the hero Punhu Khan is a young Beloch chief of mekran, and in keeping with the Sufi Significance of the legend the pair are now considered as saints or holy characters, their resting place in the Pubbani Pass being still visited by many pilgrims. Thus it is clear that here in the matter of the folk-songs also as in the field of classical music, the union of Hindu and Muhammadan elements is a marked characteristic of North Indian life.

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The subject of music and musical compositions leads naturally to that of language and literary culture. Here it is seen that the Muhammadans almost everywhere speak the language of the province where they have settled; for example, Bengali in Bengal, different forms of Hindi and Hindustani in different parts of Hindustan proper, Punjabi in the Punjab and Sindhi in Sind. But in many parts of Upper India, the language of polite speech and intercourse and of literary composition in prose and verse, both among Hindus and Muhammadans, is Urdu, a language whose grammatical structure is that of Hindnsthan, but whose vocabulary is largely drawn from Persian. The literature embodied in the Urdu tongue has been built up by the joint labours of Hindu and Muhammadan writes and two of the most eminent writers in that tongue, the poet Daya Shunker Nasim, author of "the exquisite Masnawi of Bakaoli," and the prose-writer Pandit Ratan Nath (Sarshar) are Hindus. Thus this pretty language is as much indebted to the Hindus as to the Musalmans for its popularity and perfection. On the other hand the purely indigenous vernaculars themselves have not only incorporated a large number of Persian words, but have also been embellished by the writings of some of the greatest Muhammadan writers. The earliest writer in the Awadhi dialect of Hindi in which Tulsi Das later on composed his celebrated Ramayana, was a Muhammadan named Malik Muhammad (fl. 1540 A. D.) the author of the fine philosophical epic called the **Padumawat.**

(To be Continued)

The Hindu Moslem Civilisation of India

The following is the concluding portion of the articles of Mr. Rabindranarayan Ghosh, M. A. in the Dawn Society's Magazine of 1911. These excerpts culled by Mr. D. V. SIVARAO are of topical interest as they answer many a question relating to the Hindu Moslem problem; especially the claim made by some Mussalmans that they are a race and a nation distinct from the Hindus. Ed. I. M.

"This work, while telling in vivid language the story of Ratan Sen's* quest for the fair Padmavati, of Alauddin's ruthless seige of the Virgin city of Chitor, of Ratan's valour and of Padmavati's wifely devotion, culminating in the terrible sacrifice of all in the doomed city that was true and fair to save it from the lust of the Tartar conqueror is also an allegory describing the search of the soul for true wisdom, and the trials and temptations which beset it in its course. As to the spirit that animates the work Dr. Grierson observes: "Malik Muhammad's ideal of life is high, and through the work of the Mussalman ascetic there run veins of the broadest charity and of sympathy with those higher spirits among his Hindu fellow countrymen who were groping in the dark for that light of which many of them obtained glimpses." Among other distinguished Mussalaman writers that adorned the Hindi tongue may be mentioned the celebrated Abdur Rahim Khan-Khanan one of the nine jewels of Akbar's court, who not only wrote verses in Hindi but also won reputation as a great patron of literature. It is to be noted that many of Khan-Khanan's Hindi songs and lyrics turn on the loves of Radha-Krishna and other Hindu themes. (For an account of the Khan Khanan and his writings, see an article in the Hindi Journal, Saraswathi, August, 1910)

Similarly in the field of Bengali literature we have the names of Mussalman writers like Alwal who composed a Bengali metrical version of Malik Muhammad's Padumawat, and of many mussalman Vaishnava poets who composed Padas or lyrical songs dealing with Radha-Krishna. Some of the early Mussalman rulers of Bengal were great patrons of Bengali literature, and at their instance several Bengali versions of the Hindu Epics and Puranas were undertaken. It is a well known fact that as a result of the Vaishnava movement in Bengal inaugurated by Sree Chaitanya, a considerable number of pious Muhammadans, the most famous of these being, Haridas, adopted the Vaishnava faith, and that several of these composed like their Hindu brothers, beautiful lyrics called Padas with Radha-Krishna, and Sree Chaitanya as their subject- matter. Twenty four of these Mussalman Vaishnava poets and a considerable body of their compositions have up till now been brought to light, thanks to the researches of Srijuts Dinesh Chandra Sen, Abdul Karim, and Braja Sundar Sanyal. (Vide Dinesh Chandar Sen's Banga Bhasha O Sahitya, 3rd edition p. 299; also, a pamphlet embodyng the Vaishnava lyrics of Syed Martuza, perhaps the best of the 24 poets mentioned above, edited by Sj. Braja Sundar Sanyal with a biographical notice by Sj. Abdul Karim. For an account of Alwal and his writings, see Banga Bhasha O Sahitya pp. 569.580 , and for a detailed notice of Bengali versions of Hindu epics undertaken under Mussalman patronage, see the same book pp. 156-166.) Thus we note here not only a community of language between Hindus and Mussalmans but also the sharing to some extent at least of a common

* Ratansen the hero of "Padumawat" is known to history as Bhim sinha. For the story; see the chapter on Language in census Report 1901 and also the introduction to Modern Vernacular literature of Hindusthani by G. A. Grierson.

literary tradition much of which is Hindu in origin.

On the other hand, in the Punjab and the Western parts of the United Provinces where for many years Urudu and Persian have been regarded as the medium of polite literature and literary culture, the common literary tradition is based more on Persian than Hindu literature. So that it now happens that the ordinary Hindu of those regions is very often even more familar with the substance of Persian romances like Yusuf and Zuleikha, Shirin-Farhad, Gule-Bakaoli and Laila-Majnun, which again from the subject matter of much of Urudu literature than perhaps of the Hindu Epics themselves, and that it has been deemed necessary by Hindu publicities of the province, to start a propaganda for instructing Hindu youths in pure Hindu epic and traditional lore.

III

The union, or rather assimilation, born of mutual contact and interaction, of Hindu and Muhammadan culture in Northern India, which we have already noticed in the fields of Industrial Art, Architecture Painting, Music, Language, and Literature is also to be noticed in the field of Religion and religious practice. In a consideration of this topic it has to bo remembered, in the first place, that a large percentage of the Mussalmans of India are not of foreign origin but descendants of Indian converts to Islam, * and as such share with their Hindu brethren the innate tendency for symbolism and ceremonial which is characteristic of all children of the Indian soil; and secondly, that Islam, as it was introduced in India, had already undergone a process of adaptation on Persian soil which brought it nearer to the spirit of Hinduism, as it would be made clear in the course of our discussions. As a result of these two forces, helped and strengthened as they were by the close contact in which the two cultures, Hindu and Islamic, lived in India for seven centuries, Islam underwent on Indian soil a remarkable transformation on its practical and ceremonial side, a transformation which distinguishes it more or less from Islam as practised in other Muhammadan countries and at the same time assimilates it to the religious faith and practices of the numerous Hindu sects of India. To such an extent has this process of transformation gone on that many Hindus of Upper India, especially those belonging to the lower classes, do not scruple to take an enthusiastic part in the worships and pilgrimages, in the festivals and pageants of this Indianised Islam. And Vice-Versa, the large mass of the

* The following facts compiled from the Census Report of India 1901 will show how large a proportion of the Mussalman population is composed of indigenous elements. In Bengal the local Muhammadans, most of whom belong to the agricultural classes, are in the main the descendants of local converts from Hinduism. In Malabar, the only place in Southern India where the faith of Islam has many adherents, the majority of the Mussalmans are said to be the descendants of local converts made by the Arabs, who frequented the coast as far back as the beginning of the 8th century. In Gujarat, the Boharas, Khojas and Memons, all of whom are now Muhammadan, are of Hindu ancestry, and in Rajputana the Muhammadans are for the most part the descendants of Rajputs who were converted in the time of the Delhi Emperors ; of the remainder many are Meos, also of indigenous origin. Even in the north west of India a large portion of the present-day Muhammadans have little or no foreign blood in their veins, and of 14, 141, 122 Muhammadans in the Punjab only 1,115,243 were returned in the census of 1901 as Pathan, 491,789 as Baloch, 340,063 as Sheikh, 315,032 as Saiad and 111,885 as Moghal, that is to say only 16 p. c of the total population are of foreign origin. The rest, i. e. about 84 p. c. are mostly converts from indigenous races such as the Jats who numbered nearly 2 million, the Rajputs and Arains about 1 million, and the Jolahas, Awans, Gujars, Muchis, Kumhars, Tarkhans and Telis from one to two-thirds of a million each. The vast majority of the present-day followers of Islam are shown by their caste designation to be the descendants of local converts.) see also the extract from the Punjab Administration Report 1854-55.

followers of Islam in India practising, as they do, a form of Islam largely transformed by Indian influence, do not think it improper to take part in what are strictly Hindu religious festivals and worships.

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This Indianisation of Islam noticed by many students of Indian civilisation, European as well as Indian, is most apparent, as we shall show more at length in the course of another article, in the worship and offerings made, and the pilgrimages, fairs and festivals instituted in honour of the shrines of a numerous class of holy saints called *Pirs*, the names of many of whom are not even known outside the borders of India. The worship of the shrines of departed saints is an old Indian institution coming down from the days of Buddhist and Jaina ascendancy, and having its modern counterpart in the veneration offered to shrines of departed saints of the different Hindu sects, especially of the Vaishnava sect. And Indian Muhammadanism, in its marked preference for Pir-worship with its attendant rites and ceremonies of a more or less Hindu character, and in its veneration of relics, foot-prints and commemorative shrines, is but a continuation of the institution of saint-worship as obtaining among Buddhist, Jaina, or Vaishnava communities.

But this Indo-Islamic cult of Pirs has another aspect in which it bears a further and closer correspondence with the other Indian religions, especially Hinduism. For this cult of Pirs, besides being a form of saintworship serves also as a substitute for the *Devata*-worship of the Hindus. We know that the worship of departed saints as such forms but a subordinate feature of popular Hinduism, and that a much larger part is played therein by the numerous deities who preside over the beneficent or maleficent forces of nature and dispense gifts and favours to their votaries, and save them from curses and calamities, when duly worshipped and propitiated. The stern monotheistic creed of Arabian Islam however, does not admit of any complex mythology such as Hinduism possesses in its graduated heirarchy of gods, demi-gods, and inferior deities before whom prayers and the attainment of objects of a more or less personal or wordly character. But as we have already seen a great bulk of the Indian Muhammadans are not of foreign origin but descendants of Indian converts to Islam, symbolism and ceremonial which is characteristic of all children of the Islam, inheriting as they do the rooted tendencies of the race in this respect, should feel the need of just such a mythology as the Hindus possess. And it was this craving for a mythology that was met by these deified Pirs, who are looked upon, much as the "*Deotas*" (*Devatas*) or popular deities of Hinduism are regarded by the ordinary Hindu. The spirit of the departed Pir is supposed in most cases to hold sway over particular elements and forces of nature and to preside over their operations and is almost always approached at least by the lower classes, with prayers for a child, for the favourable settlement of a family dispute, for the cure of a disease, for safety on a voyage or journey, and so on. It is no wonder then that Hindus should join in practice, or that Muhammadans who pray in this Hindu fashion to a deified Pir, should proceed one step further to offer worship to the Hindu deities (*Devatas*) themselves, such for example as Sitala (the small-pox goddess), Kali and Durga.

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Closely associated with this worship of deified Pirs and of Hindu divinities is the Hindu character assumed by the religious festivals of the Indian Mussalmans and the adoption by them of the Hindu institutions of fairs and pilgrimages to honour the memory of departed saints. The puritanic severity of the few festivals of Arabian Islam failed to satisfy the natural partiality of the Indian mind for a symbolistic and ritualistic religon, with forms and rites calculated to appeal to the senses and the imagination and to bring them in touch with the life of Nature around them, the changes of the seasons, the glory of the soil, such as corn, fruit and oil. And naturally enough, as we shall see in due course seasonal festivals introduced more

or less in conformity with Hindu festivals (e. g., the festival of Khwaja Khizr in the month of Bhadon, (Sanskrit Bhadra,) corresponding to the Ganga – Puja of the Hindus), but also the old festivals themselves, such as the Mohurrum, came to acquire a more or less Indian character by the adoption of ornate and ceremonial features. some times borrowed directly from Hinduism.

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All these features of the Indianisation of Islam have been noticed by more than one student of Indian life and civilisation European as well as Indian. Even so early as 1831, M. Garcin de Tassy, (the then Professor of Hindustani at the Royal and special School of Living Oriental Languages, Paris and Member of the Asiatic Societies of Paris, London and Calcutta.) a French scholar who devoted himself to the study of the Hindustani and the Persian literature of India, wrote to this effect in his Memoir on some peculiarities of the Mussulman Religion in India [Memoire sur des particularites de la Religion Musulamane dans I' Inde: reprinted from the Nouveau Journal Asiatique at the Imprimerie Royale (Royal Printing-house), Paris, 1831. pp. 9 etc. The book was compiled by the author mainly from the writings of several Indian Mussalman authors who wrote in Hindustani (Urdu), writings such as: the 'Barah Masha' (the twelve months) of Kazim Ali Jawan, and the Araich--Mahfil (or Statistics and History of Hindustan) by Sher Ali Afghan, both of whom wrote in the beginning of the 19th century. The present writer is responsible for the translations of this and subsequent extracts from the original French texts.) " That which is particularly striking in the exterior cult of the Mussalmans of India, is the alteration which it has undergone because of taking on the indigenous physiognomy; these are the accessory ceremonies, and those usages little in keeping with, or even contrary to the spirit of the Koran, which have established themselves insensibly by the contact of the Mussalmans with the Hindus; these are, finally those numerous pilgrimages to the tombs of saintly personages of whom some are not even Mussalmans, and the semi-pagan festivals instituted in their honour" (Ibid p. 9). And the writer then goes on to explain the psychology of this transformation in the next paragraph:—"In fact, the cult of Mahomet was too simple for a country in which rules in allegorical and idolatrous religion which speaks to the senses and the imagination, rather than to the mind and to the heart; so the Mussalman festivals in India have surcharged themselves with pagan ceremonies, and have put on a gorgeous apparel. They are not stamped there with the severity which distinguishes those of Mecca and of Medina. One should say they are those of the Hindus."

Another distinguished French writer, M. Gustava Le Bon writes to the same effect in his valuable book, the Civilisations of India (Les Civilisations des l' Indes New Edition, Revised and Enlarged: The Book Firm of Ernest Flammarion, 26 Rue Racine, Paris, 1900 by Dr. Gustava Le Bon, who was deputed on an Archaeological Mission to India by the Minister of Public Instruction, France. The present writer is responsible for the translations from the original French text.) :—" The transformation of a part of India under the action of the Mussalmans was far from being as profound as has been that of Egypt. The action of the vanquished on the vanquishers had more of force in the Peninsula than in any of the countries which underwent the yoke of the sectaries of Mahomet. The new civilisation which the Afghans, afterwards the Turks and the Mogals carried into the basins of the Indus and the Ganges, after having strongly influenced that which already subsisted, found itself modified by it in its turn, from the mingling of these two civilisations rose a third, keeping almost as much of the one as of the other and which we shall designate by the name of the Hindu-Mussulman civilisation." Again, speaking particularly of religion, the same author remarks :—' The religion taught by Mahomet was too simple for a people habituated to adore innumerable deities.' 'Many Hindu Mussulmans,'

meaning Indian Moslems, 'render divine honours to Mahomet; their adoration' extends down to his son-in-law Ali amongst the low classes, numerous saints are equally deified and confounded with the old divinities of the Brahmanical pantheon.' In another passage, again, he remarks to the same effect:— "There are in India, among the few cultivated spirits, some true Mussalmans and some true Brahmans; but among the people the two cults are sometimes totally confounded. Mahomet and the mussulman saints are deities of the same rank as the other Hindu deities. The ceremonies are mutually borrowed from the rites, and sometimes unite partisans, of diverse creeds."

If we turn from these foreign observers to students of Indian life, Indian and European, who have lived and worked in India in recent times we find that the same opinions are held by them as by the French scholars we have quoted above. Mr. A. Yusuf Ali M A. LL. B. (Cantab), I. C. S., (President of the Muhammadan Educational Conference held at Nagpur on the 27th December, 1910.) A distinguished and cultured Muhammadan Civilian of the United Provinces observes in his book on **The Life and labour of the People of India** (Published by John Murray, Albemarble Street, W. London. P. 309): "It is in the investigation of the highest and most serious problems of life that the Indian sages and seers— Hindu, Buddhist, Muhammadan, and even Christian—seem unconsciously to have worked, and to be working on a common basis. The stern, iconclastic character of Arabian Islam has always been subordinated in India to the reverence for saints and the embodiment of religious virtue in sacred persons and places." And again on p. 334 of the same work we find:— "Speaking of the religious aspect of our social life, a consideration of the position of the Moslems in India is most instructive As I have said before, practical Islam in India—the religion actually held and followed as opposed to that professed — is very different indeed from the Islam of the books. The Moslems versed in the old learning are, of course, acquainted with the root-ideas of Islam and preach them wherever they can—but do they, even they carry them out? Not entirely—If the Hindus offer cakes to the manes of their deceased ancestors, the Moslems in India have developed the custom of **Shirni**. ... The Muhammadan Julaha or Teli in the remote villages will propitiate the **Mata** during an outbreak of small pox with as much ferver and ceremony as his Hindu brother. He will march to the shrine of Ghazi Mian or sing the song of the Panchon Pir with as great a sense of duty as a Hindu pilgrim measuring his length along to Chitrakot or a Sadhu devotee singing to the merry sound of the nimble **Dafla**, the loves of Radha and Krishna...In the olden days the Hinduising tendencies among Muhammadans led to a certain amount of friendliness with the Hindus. It was difficult to say whether the Hindus or the Muhammadans were more numerous in the cult of the **Tazia** or of Ghazi Mian and the Heroes Five or at the shrines of local godlings, such as the Bhumia Deo. At the countryside the fact of a Man's professed religion made as little difference as his stature or the shade of his complexion."

Another Civilian writer Mr. W. Crooke, I. C. S. observes, in his book, **The North Western Provinces of India** (Published by Methuen and Co., London, 1897.) p. 260)—" Islam in India has to a large extent shed off those militant, Puritan principles which now survive only among the sect known as the **Wahhabi** or **Ahl-l-Hadis**, who are purists and reject as idolatrous accretions on the original faith the worship of saints and their tombs, call ordinary Mussalmans Mushrik,or those who associate another with God, and condemn the smoking of tobacco and the use of rosaries. Islam has thus become much more tolerant of Hindu beliefs than it was under wild raiders like Shihabuddin or the iconoclastic Aurangazib ... like Hinduism Islam in India has never established a Church or Synod; it has no well-defined religious centre and the small isolated colonies which it founded gradually fell under the influence of their environment in the midst of a numerically superior infidel population."

We desire in our next to bring out more in detail the nature and extent of this Indianisation of Islam in the matter of religious practices and beliefs, under non-Mussalman, Indian influences; and also on the other hand, the extent to which the Hindus and other non-Mussalman Indians adopted features of the Indo-Musalman cults. We want also to bring out and illustrate how this mutual influence and interaction between Mussalman and non-Mussalman India brought about a friendliness and co-operation in these matters which showed itself in their sharing with enthusiasm in common festivals and pilgrimages.

IV

In the first part of this series of articles the Hindu-Moslem features of the industrial arts, the dress, the architecture and the painting of Northern India were dealt with. In the second part of this series the subject of Hindu-Moslem relations has been considered from the same standpoint, namely that the Hindu-Moslem culture, but in relation to other departments of Hindu-Moslem activity, e. g., those of Music, Language, and Literature. In our last article on the subject, which constituted the third part of the series, we showed on the authority of distinguished European and Indian scholars who have made a serious study of the problem of Islam in India that the union or rather assimilation born of mutual contact and interaction of Hindu and Moslem cultures in Northern India is also to be noticed in the field of religion and religious practices.

We desire in this and one or two other articles to bring out more in detail the exact nature and extent of the Indianisation of Islam in the matter of religious practices and beliefs, under non-Moslem Indian influences and also on the other hand the extent from which the Hindus and other non-Mussalman Indians adopted features of the Indo-Musulman cults. We want also to bring out and illustrate how these mutual influence and interaction between Moslem and non-Moslem India brought about a friendliness and co-operation in these matters, which showed itself in their sharing with enthusiasm in common festivals and pilgrimages.

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One result of the Indianising of Islam in India has been, as we have pointed out in our last article on the subject that all over the country, Hindus and Mohammadans join in rendering homage and worship to the saints of either community, under taking pilgrimages to their numerous shrines dotted over the whole land, and making offerings of coins, sweets and lamps. It has been estimated that the worship of these deified Mohammadan saints constitutes the faith of nearly two and a half millions of Hindus in Northern India. (See page 252, north-western provinces of India by W. Crooke, Bengal Civil Service retired London ; Methuen and Co. 1897.) in fact the number of these Muhammadan shrines is even greater than that of Hindu saints in many parts of the country. Some of these saints and their shrines are of local and provincial celebrity while others are of more universal renown; and shrines dedicated to these last are to be found all over Northern India.

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Among these deified saints of all-India reputation, and worshipped both by Hindus and Mussalmans,one of the most celebrated is Shah Madar, or more fully, Saiyed Pir Badiuddin Zindah Shah Madar who lived in the first half of the fifteenth century during the rule of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqu of Jaunpur. His tomb, erected at Makkanpur in the Cawnpur District by this monarch, is still one of the greatest objects of pilgrimage not only to the Muhammadans of Upper India but also to a large number of Hindus. But besides this central shrine, local shrines are erected to him and festivals celebrated in his honour, in many other Muhammadan localities in the Punjab, the United Provinces and even here in remote Bengal. (For a full description of the shrine and festival of Madar Shab at Makkanpur, vide Garcin

de Tassy Memoire sur des particularites de la Religion Musalmane dans Inde pp. 54-62. The Census report of India, 1901, makes a reference to it. See Vol. 1., part 1. p. 374. An account of local shrines dedicated to Shah Madar in a North Bengal locality appears in a recent special number of the Rangpur Sahitya Parishad Patrika, entitled the History of Sherpur (a subdivision of the Bogra District in North Bengal) by Sj. Haragopal Das Kundu (See P. 39 of this publication which is in Bengali.) Every year in the Muhammadan month of Joumazi 1st, the time fixed for the festival of the saint, a considerable number of men and women, generally of the inferior classes, repair to his shrine at Makkanpur from the most distant places. Headed by some **Fakirs** of the order of Shah Madar the pilgrims march in a body carrying pikes called **Chharis** in their hands, while some of them play on the **Rubab** (a kind of violin) and the tambour. The pilgrims, both Hindu and Muhammadan, stay near the tomb of the shrine for a number of days, occupied in presenting their vows and oblations; and when the 17th of the month is passed, they return to their respective homes. The **Fakirs** or dervishes of the order of Madar have some traits of resemblance with the Hindu **Sannyasis.** Like them they go about almost naked in all seasons, and keep their hair in matted locks; they rub the body with ashes and carry chains of iron round their loins and necks, and above all, their principal practice consists in making use of Bhang (an intoxicating liquor extracted from the leaves of hemp) in the expectation of procuring visions. M. Garcin de Tassy points out another quasi-Hindu feature in the cult of Madar, viz., that on the night of the festival the processionists with pikes in their hands have to walk round a blazing fire. Here, says M. de Tassy "we see a new example of the adoption of Indian ceremonies and usages into the Mussalman cult. This walk round the fire is evidently borrowed from the Hindus among whom there is even a festival of which the principal rite consists in walking round this element, which they have deified under the name of Agni."

Almost equally wides pread or perhaps more widespread than ths cult of Shah Madar, is the cult of the fam ous **Panch pir** or Five Saints Viz. Ghazi Miyan, Hathila, Parihar, Sahja Mai and Ajab Salar. They are worshipped all over Northern India from the Bengal to the Punjab not only by Muhammadans but also by large number of Hindus who are known as Panchpiriyas. It is even a matter of dispute whether they are the five Pandu brothers of the Mahabharata or five great saints of Islam. The song of the Panchon Pir is to be heard all over Hindusthan sung to the merry sound of the nimble dafla (a kind of small drum), and pilgrimages to the shrine of Ghazi Miyan are very frequent. The principal shrine of Ghazi Miyan (or, to give him his full designation, Salar Masud Ghazi) is that erected over his tomb at Bahraich, an ancient town in Oudh, situated on the banks of the Saraju. Here, also, as at Makkanpur, an annual fair and festival is held in honour of Ghazi Miyan in the month of Jeth (Jaishtha:May-June) on the occasion of the anniversary of the marriage and martyrdom of the saint. The ceremonies are almost the same as those performed at the festival of Madar. The same procession with pikes and banners, the same holiday fair, the same offering of vows with flowers and sweetmeats at the shrine of the saint, characterise both these feasts and in fact no other festivals of these parts. A special feature of this shrine of Ghazi Miyan is that it attracts a large number of lepers and of lame, one handed and blind persons who linger near the tomb in the hope of being cured. Herein this and many other Mussulman shrines resemble such Hindu shrines as those as Tarakeshwar and Baidyanath in Bengal, and many others in the different provinces of India.

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Bahraich also contains the tomb of Rajab Salar or Ajab Salar, another of these "Five Pirs," but it is not so celebrated as that of Ghazi Miyan. But besides these central shrines there are numerous local ones dedicated to the panch pir, scattered in the different provinces of

Northern India : and even in remote Bengal local shrines to Ghazi Miyan, to Hathila, and to Rajab Salar are not infrequently to be met with ; and any one who has travelled by boat on the Padma or the Meghna or the sea adjoining Chittagong will have noticed that the boatmen, whether Hindu or Mussalman, when starting on a journey invoke the blessing of the Panch Pir, and especially of Ghazi Miyan, along with that of the River-deity Ganges and of Pir Badar, the patron saint of sailors, in the following words :—

Amara acchi Polpan Gazi acchi Nikhaman Seere Ganga dariya Panch Pir hiyya Gazi Badar Badar Badar.

Translation :—We are but children, Ghazi is kind on us : the River Ganges and the Five Saints be on our head. O Ghazi Badar, Badar, Badar, (Census of British India, 1881, Vol. III p. xi, App. B. which embodies extracts from Ibbeston Punjab Census Report noting peculiarities of the Hindu and Muhammadan religions as practised in that Province; Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life, p. 403 Crooke, North-Western provinces of India, p. 252 ; also p. 60, pt. 1 of the November, 1904 number of this Journal, where is given the boatmen's hymn given above, in the course of an article on Bengali as spoken by the Bengalis. (See also for an account of some North Bengal shrines to these Indo-Muhammadan saints, a recent special number of the Rangpur Sahitya Parishad Patrika giving the history of Sherpur.)

This Bengali prayer to Pir Badar, the patron saint of boatmen, leads us to another of those cults of deified saints which prevail all over Northern India, both among Hindus and Muhammadans. The saint is better known outside Bengal under the name of Khwaza Khizr (as in the Punjab and United provinces) or Khaje Khidar (as in Behar) and this Muhammadan title has in many places been Hinduised into Raja Kidar. Khwaza Khizr is properly that one of the great saints of Islam to whom the care of travellers is confided. But throughout Northern India from the Punjab to Behar, he is now regarded as the Hindu god of water and is sometimes confused with the deities presiding over the rivers Ganges (Ganga Mai) and Indus respectively. The fish is his vehicle, and his image is painted over the doors of both Hindus and Muhammadans, while it became the family crest of the late royal house of Oudh. (Water-colour paintings of Khwaza Khizr riding on a fish, in a setting of cool and soothing landscape, are very often to be met with in collections of old Indian paintings of the Mughal and post-Mughal periods.) Among Muhammadans a prayer is said to Khwaza Khizr at the first shaving of a boy, and a little boat (called bera) is launched in a river or tank in his honour. The same rite ,commonly known as the Bera ceremony, is performed at the close of the rainy season, and every Thursday during the month of Bhadon (August-September) the Mussalman women observe a fast which they call Khaje Khidar Ka roja. Among the Hindus again he is worshipped by burning lamps and feeding Brahmans at the well and as among their Mussalman brethren, by setting afloat on a village pond a little raft of grass with a lighted lamp placed upon it,—a practice which is also observed on the occasion of the Ganga Puja. (Ibbetson, Punjab Census Report, 1881, Crooke. The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India, Vol. 1. p. 47 ; Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life P. 40-3 ; Garcin de Tassy, op. cit., pp. 85-89.)

V

One result of the Indianising of Islam in India has been, as we have seen in the Third and Fourth Parts of this series, that all over the country Hindus and Mahommedans join in rendering homage and worship to the saints of either community, undertaking pilgrimages to their numerous shrines dotted over the whole land, and making offerings of coins, sweets and lamps. In our last we gave detailed reference to some of these saints and their shrines confining our attention to only those of them that are of all-India reputation. In the present article we desire to explain

that besides these deified saints of universal reputation there are others of a more or less local and provincial renown, but who nevertheless occupy a very important place in the worship of the peasantry, Hindu as well as Muhammadan. Though they are more often Muhammadan than Hindu, they are worshipped by Hindus and Mussalmans with the most absolute impartiality. During the Punjab Census operations of 1881, the Jats of a part of Gurgaon described their worship as confined to Shekh Ahmad Chisti Brahman and the Pipal tree. The shrines of the three great saints of the Punjab, Sakhi Sarwar Bawa Farid and Buga Pir are yearly crowded by thousands of worshippers of both religions. Of these Sakhi Sarwar, Sultan, a Mussalman saint who flourished about the middle of 12th century A. D. is perhaps the most popular. He is not only worshipped by both Hindus and Mussalmans, but his followers amongst the latter form a distinct Hindu sect, known as Sultanis. His principal shrine is at Nighaka in the Dehra Ghazi Khan District and contains, besides the trunk of the saint and his wife, a shrine to Baba Nanak and a temple to Vishnu, thus exemplifying the extraordinary manner in which religious practices are intermingled in the Punjab. The shrine is celebrated throughout the province and thousands of pilgrims from all parts, Hindu, Sikh, and Mussalman attend the annual fair which is held there. A very considerable proportion of the Hindu village population, and especially of the women of the Amritsar, Jullundar and Ambala divisions (excepting Simla and Kangra) and of Northern Patiala, are Sultanis. The guardians of the local shrines, which exist in almost every village are Mussalman, and are called Bharai and conduct the companies of Hindu pilgrims on their way to the shrine at Nighaka. Even in the Delhi territory where he is not held in quite such high esteem, he is still generally worshipped, shrines in his honour are common, vows and pilgrimages to him are frequent, and Brahmans tie threads on the wrists of their clients on a fixed date in the name of Sakhi Sarwar.

Bawa Farid, again, was another Muhammadan saint of the Punjab who flourished about the end of the 13th century. His shrine at Pak Pattan in the Montgomery district which is celebrated throughout Muhammadan Asia, attracts no less than 50,000 pilgrims, Hindus and Muhammadans, during the annual fair. Sakhi Sarwar, and Bawa Farid were Mussalman saints worshipped by Hindus. Buga Pir, on the other hand, the third of the great saints of the Punjab, was a Hindu, his proper name being Guga Bir or Guga Chohan. It is said that when Sultan Mahmud with his army reached the banks of the Sutlej his progress was resisted by Guga Chohan, who bravely fought against the alien army and did not allow Mahmud to proceed forwards till he and his 45 sons had perished in the fight. (Ibbetson's Punjab Census Report 1881 p. x. and speech of Lala Hans Raj, B. A, at the Punjab Hindu Conference, 1909, as reported on p. 95 of the Report of the First Punjab Hindu conference held at Lahore.) But this in no way prevents Mussalmans from flocking to his shrine in large numbers, and even his very name has been changed from Guga Bir or 'Hero Guga' to Guga Pir or saint Guga. Two other saints venerated in the Punjab deserve a passing mention. One is Shams-i-Tabriz, a celebrated Muhammadan saint, whose followers form a distinct Hindu sect known as the Shamsi Hindus. These, notwithstanding their strong leaning towards the tenets of Mahomet, still conform to most of the observances of Hinduism and are accepted as Hindus by their Hindu neighbours. They bury their dead, instead of burning them. The other is Lal Das, a Meo of Alwar, who, though like all Meos, a Mussalman by faith, followed again, like all Meos, Hindu observances. His followers, known as Lal Dasi Hindus, would appear to be a sect of Mussalmans who approach to Hinduism The worship consists chiefly in repeating the name of Ram. Yet Lal Das is considered to be Musalman Pir. (Ibbetson op.cit. A valuable summary of facts relating to Hindu-Muhammadan practices in the Punjab appeared in the November, 1904 number of this Journal.)

In Rajaputana the most celebrated of the local shrines is that of Muiniddin Chisti

at Ajmir. Indeed this saint may be said to enjoy a more than local renown, being one of the most celebrated in Mussalman India, and his tomb is still to this day constantly surrounded by a crowd of pilgrims, Mussalman as well as Hindu. The celebrated Maratha rulers, Madaji and Daulat Rao Sindhia, although they were Hindus and faithful followers of the Brahmanic cult, made rich presents to the tomb of this saint, as well as to the Mussalman priests or Pir Zada (Literally, son of a Pir,) attached to the shrine. We read in Jehangir's **Memories** how the celebrated Akbar went on foot from Agra to Ajmir, a distance of 140 Kos, to visit the shrine of this saint when he was afflicted by the misfortune that all his children would die in infancy. Jahangir was born after this visit to the holy shrine, and was accordingly named Salim after the name of Sheik Salim Chisti, a pious recluse, who was the then living successor in the spiritual line of Muinuddin Chisti. An annual festival similar in most particulars to those of Shah Madar and Salar Masud Ghazi, is celebrated at Ajmir in the Muhammadan month of Jumazi 2nd, and draws a large number of pilgrims from all parts of the country (Garcin de Tassy: Memoire sur des particularities de la Religion Mussalmane dans, l' Inde pp. 62-67).

As in the Punjab and Rajputana, in the other provinces also, saints of local renown claim a large part of the reverence and worship of the populace both Mussalman and Hindu. In the United Provinces the shrines of Shaikh Saddo at Amroha in the Moradabad District, of Shah Mina at Lucknow, and of Ala-uddin Sabir at Piran Kaliar in Saharanpur are resorted to in large numbers, both by Hindus and Muhammadans. (Census Report of India, 1901, Vol. 1 part I., p. 374). Among celebrated shrines in Bengal and Behar may be mentioned those of Shah Arzand at Patna, of Jaffar Ghazi at Tribeni in the Hughly District, of Turkan Shahid at Sherpur in the Bogra District, and many others in different parts of the province. Almost every district has its local saint's day fairs in memory of one or more of these Pirs, and until recently one of the largest fairs of Northern India, that of Nekmard in the Dinajpur District in North Bengal, was held annually to celebrate the memory of a local Pir. (The holding of this fair has since been discontinued by order of Government on account of the advent of the plague in Bengal some 11 years ago.)

The offering of Shirni (sweets) and coins at the shrines of Pir is a common practice with the Hindus of Bengal. In fact the state of things disclosed by the following translation of an extract from the Bengali History of Sherpur to which we have referred above may be taken as more or less typical of Hindu-Mussalman relations in the matter of the Pir-cult as obtaining throughout the greater part of Bengal. The author says on p. 39 of his book:—

"Though Sherpur is mainly inhabited by Hindus, yet shrines to Muhammaden saints are to be found everywhere within the subdivision, chief among which are those of Turkan Shahid, of Ghazi Miyan, of Hathila of Shaburdi Madar, and of Shah Madar. All these shrines receive the homage and worship of Hindu men and women. All the (Hindu) Zamindars of Sherpur, at the time of the annual Punyaha ceremony, (an annual ceremony at which the Zemindars and Rajas receive the homage and worship of their tenants who come with offerings of Nazar and portions of the annual rent) make the offering of Shirni to the Dargah or shrine of Turkan Shahid just as they offer sweets and money at the shrines of Hindu deities like Gobinda Ray and others. Many Hindus of Sherpur, on the occasion of the Annaprasana (first rice) ceremony of their children, take the shavings of the child to the shrine of Shah Madar, and offer Shirni there. In the month of Jyaishtha, on the occasion of the festival of Ghazi Miyan, many Hindus even to this day, wear new dresses, and exchange garlands before Ghazi Miyan, Hathila, and the other Pirs, and offer shirni, fruits, and Cheragi [a money-present made by pilgrims to the Fakirs in charge of these Muhammadan shrines, ostensibly as a contribution to the expense of lighting Cherags (lamps) at the shrines.] presents. In short, the Hindus look upon

this festival as one of their own, and crowd with enthusiasm to the grounds where the festival is celebrated, and both men and women throw bundles of Shirni at the flag-staffs (Nishan) of the Pirs. Even the smaller shrines are not deprived of the devotion of Hindus. On the occasion of Dewali ("Festival of lights") and other Hindu festivals, Hindu women place lamps at these Muhammadan shrines just as they do at temples of Hindu divinities. If on the occasion of building a house or shrine, a Hindu learns that the site was formerly occupied by a Mussalman Darga, he avoids the spot as sacred, and some even go so far as to erect a Darga on the old site at their own expense. Besides, on the occasion of an illness or when one wants to secure a desired object many Hindus make vows of offerings at the shrines of Hathila and Miyan, so that it is even said that most of the fly-whisks at the shrine of Hathila were the gifts of Hindus."

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We have thus far spoken mainly of Muhammadan saints and shrines that have received the homage and worship of Hindus and Muhammadans alike. But, as we have mentioned above, the reverse phenomenon of Hindu saints receiving the homage and worship of Muhammadans is also to be noticed in many parts of India. We shall name here only two of the most typical and celebrated instances viz. that of Kabir in Hindusthan, and Baba Lal in the Punjab. Born to Brahman parents, brought up as a Mahomedan in a Mahomedan family and initiated into the religious life by the celebrated Hindu sage Ramanand, Kabir illustrates in his career that remarkable blending of Hindu and Muhammadan elements in the life of Upper India which may be said to have approached its climax in the latter part of the 15th century. He taught a doctrine which appealed both to Hindus and to Muhammadans and thus gathered round him disciples from both communities, so that at the time of his death Hindus and Muhammadans both contended for the possession of his dead body. The Hindus wanted to burn the corpse, and the Mussalmans to bury it, but finally as the tradition goes, the saint himself appeared before the disputants and asked them to look beneath the shroud. They did as he commended and lo ! beneath the cloth there lay but a heap of flowers ! Of these flowers the Hindus removed half and burnt them at Benares, while what remained were buried at Maghar by Muhammadans. (See Kabir and the Kabir Panth by Rev. G. H. Westcott, M. A., Fellow of Allahabad University (Cawnpore : Printed and Published at the Christ Church Mission Press, 1907) Baba Lal was a Hindu dervish who lived at Dhianpur, in the province of Lahore. The universality of his religious doctrines and the eloquence of earnestness with which he preached them drew round him a large number of persons, Hindus as well as Mussalmans, and his disciples. The large numbers of Hindustani Verses which he has left behind, are still regularly read by many people as a daily task. His followers are widespread throughout the province and are drawn as much from the higher ranks of life as from the populace. It is said that Dara Shikoh, eldest son of Shah Jahan would often see Baba-Lal and that they conversed together about the things of God. Indeed Munshi Chandarban Shah Jahani has written a Persian work which contains the pious conversations of these great personages. Like Kabir, Baba Lal was the founder of a Hindu sect which bears his name. (Garcin de Tassy, op. Cit., p. 107)

Hindu-Muslim Friendship in South India

The following article by N. N. appeared in The Hindu, dated 3-12-39.

That Hindu-Muslim unity is no new thing to South India is illustrated by the many instances found here, of mutual toleration exercised between the two communities. The instances may be merely of a local character and of little influence outside their districts—but they illustrate the general friendly feeling that has existed between the Hindus and the Muhammadans in the tolerant South from ancient days.

Temples respected

In the Mysore State there are many

temples which serve as nice examples of the real respect Muslim kings had for the shrines of the Hindus. The temple of Ranganathaswami at Seringapatam, which was for half a century the capital of Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan, was not harmed in any way. Instead, when once the temple tower was blown off by an explosion in a neighbouring powder magazine, Hyder Ali had it immediately repaired, his own soldiers being the workmen.

The Nanjudeswara temple at Nanjangud contains perhaps the most unique Hindu deity in all India. Known as Hyder Lingam, it was installed by the priests of the temple in response to a request from Hyder Ali that a god should be installed in the temple in his name. He bestowed rich gifts for the Lingam's worship.

In the same temple is a costly gold necklace set with many kinds of precious gems. This necklace was given to the temple by the same Muslim king when one of his favourite elephants was cured of a bad eye-disease.

Another temple to have received gifts from Hyder Ali and Tippu Sultan was the Chamundeswari temple on the Chamundi hill. The gifts, which consisted of jewels and clothes, are still in use there.

Not only Hindu temples, but Swamis of Hindu monasteries were also treated kindly by Hyder and Tippu. When Maharata horsemen raided Sringeri, the seat of the Hindu Swami, and looted the whole city, it was Tippu Sultan who helped the robbed Swami by sending him gifts of food, cloth and money. A detachment of the Sultan's soldiers were also sent for guarding the city against further attacks. The correspondence about this affair, between the Sringeri *mutt* and Tippu Sultan, which is still preserved in Mysore, makes a most interesting reading and is a fine example of the courteous way in which a Muslim ruler addressed a Hindu religious head.

Mosque-Temple Friendship?

In Kadiri of the Anantapur District, Madras Presidency, is an instance of a long-standing friendship between a Hindu temple and a Mosque. In the Mohurrum month, the officials of the temple send to the mosque several bucketfuls of *chunam* a few brushes and some money for whitewashing it The mosque gratefully accepts it and reciprocates the gift by sending to the temple at the time of its car festival, *chunam*, brushes and money enough to have the building whitewashed. This strange exchange has been going on for years. Its origin is lost in antiquity.

In the same town is a tomb known as the "Chandravadana Mohiar". Both Hindus and Muslims honour it and offer their prayers at this place. It is also popular with unhappy married men and women, for it is said that the tasting of some dust scraped from its walls, it is believed, brings together estranged husbands and wives, patching up their mutual ill-feelings.

This tomb is believed to contain the bodies of a Muhammadan traveller and a Hindu Princess. Enthralled by the beauty of this princess the traveller attempted to carry her off while she was returning from the temple. Her attendants immediately cut him down and the infatuated man died at the feet of his beloved calling out words of love. When later on, men tried to remove his body, it was found to be impossible as it could never be lifted from the earth. Seeing this, the princess "to whose mind a solution came from heaven itself", proposed that she should also lie down by the side of her rash admirer and that they both should be buried. Her orders were carried out and "smilingly this royal maiden of matchless beauty entered her self-sought doom with her *Mleccha* lover."

In the Travancore State is a hill called the Sabarimalai hill wherein is a temple dedicated to the Buddha. In the same hill is a mosque. Though a Buddhist shrine, lakhs of Hindu pilgrims visit the hill, and before visiting the temple, all of them stop at the mosque and receive blessings from the Muslim divine in charge of

it. The local belief is that the God of Sabarimalai Hill will refuse the worship of any who has not visited the mosque. Many Muslims who visit the mosque also make it a point to visit the Hindu shrine along-side it.

Sacred to both communities

Near Madura is a little hill which again is a holy place for both Muslims and Hindus. The hill contains a temple dedicated to God Subrahmanya and a shrine of Fakir Sikander, a Muslim saint. Devotees of both the communities whenever they visit the hill, pray at both the places of worship and it is a common sight to see a Hindu in the Sikander shrine and a Muslim in the Subrahmanya temple.

Nagore in the Madras Presideney is another city noted for its joint Hindu-Muslim worship. It contains a tomb of Miran Sahib, a Muslim saint. Thousands of Hindus and Muslims visit this shrine at its annual festival, bathe in perfect harmony in the tomb's tank and worship jointly at the shrine.

In Mysore city is the tomb of a Muslim saint. It attracts quite a number of Hindu worshippers and is, in fact, situated in a thoroughly Hindu locality. On certain days of the year, a fair is held here during which one can see Hindus and Muslims praying near it in all cordiality.

In another spot in the Mysore State, the Baba Budan Hills, is a shrine which is sacred to both the Hindus and Muslims alike. It is called the Pita Shrine. The Hindus believe that it is the shrine of God Dattatreya, who incarnates in the world when a fresh era begins. The Muhammadans claim it to be the tomb of one of their saints, Hazrat Dada Hayat Mir Qualander. Thousands of devotees from both the creeds come to it every month and worship in perfect harmony and tolerance. The man in charge of the shrine is a Muslim and he conducts the *puja* for both the communities.

In the Chitaldrug district of the State is a steep hill known locally as Dhavalappana Gudda. This is a spot much revered by both Hindus and Muslims. The latter call it the shrine on the hill as Saint Saadulla's shrine and visit it regularly and pray there. The Hindus consider it as the la t resting place of Dhavalappa, a devotee of God Shiva and worship a *lingam* installed there in his name.

Hindu God's Muslim Devotee

In Melkote, a famous Vaishnavite centre, is a good example of Hindu-Muslim relationship in a temple. Just under the feet of the idol of God Cheluvaraya Pillai, is a small golden image. The image is that of a Muhammadan princess from Delhi and according to the legend, she was the greatest devotee of that God.

It seems that a Muslim emperor from the North, Emmadu (Muhammad) by name, during one of his expeditions to the South, looted Melkote and its temple and carried away the golden image of the God Cheluvaraya Pillai. To bring the image back, Ramanujacharya, the great Vaishnava saint, set out for Delhi. This venerable old Brahmin's gentle pleadings there moved the emperor so much that he allowed him to search the royal treasury for the image. But the object of their search was with the emperor's little daughter, Princess Varanandini (the Sanskritized form of a Muhammadan name) who was loving it with the love of a true devotee. She would not part with it. The emperor and Ramanujacharya went to the princess and at her door, the sage called out "Cheluvaraya Pillai, come hither", at which the image walked out of the room into his hands. Gazing spellbound at this miracle of miracles, the emperor of Delhi sent back Ramanujacharya to Melkote with all due reverence and honour.

When Princess Varanandini saw her idol gone, she was heart-broken. Mounting her pony at once, she followed the image to Melkote all alone, through the thousand miles of mountains, valleys, forests and rivers. When at last, wornout and bleeding, she reached Melkote, she dismounted at the door of the temple

wherein her Cheluvaraya Pillai was deposited and going into the shrine "was seen no more, having been absorbed into the god she loved with the love of a perfect devotee."

"Honnur Fakirs"

From Penukonda (in the Ceded Districts) comes another remarkable instance of a caste that has two persons as its *gurus*, one a Muslim, and another a Hindu. The members of this caste go by the name of "Honnur Fakirs."

The caste of Honnur Fakirs was created by Pirbhava Fakruddin, a Muslim divine, who came from North India and settled in Penukonda in the year 1155. The local chieftain gave him a Hindu temple and a monastery in recognition of his spiritual powers. Fakruddin lived in that temple and during his life-time was able to attract a large number of disciples from both the Muslim and Hindu ranks.

When the divine died, his body was buried in the temple where he was living, and from that time, it has been an object of joint Hindu-Muslim worship. During the annual 'urus' (festival) that is held there, thousands from both the communities go there, the most prominent among the devotees being the Honnur Fakirs.

All youngmen in the Honnur Fakirs' caste must get themselves blessed by two *gurus* before they can be pronounced as full-fledged members of the caste. The first *guru* is the Muslim *pir* that is in charge of Fakruddin's shrines at Penukonda. After his blessings are over, the youngmen travel to Shri Saila, a noted Hindu pilgrim centre, where they visit a Hindu *guru* and complete their initiation by receiving his blessings.

Ramadas of Bhadrachalam

The Shrine of Sree Rama in Bhadrachalam in the Dominions of His exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad has become famous both in legend and History. The story goes that in the time of the Nizam who ruled the Kingdom of Golconda at the time of the Moghal Emperor Aurangazeb and immortalized as 'Tanisha' in Telugu literature, a nephew of the Prime minister Akkanna, called Kancherla Gopanna, who was appointed as Tahsildar of the Bhadrachalam Taluk spent away six lacs of rupees out of the Government revenue for the temple, and he was imprisoned by Tanisha. That God Sree Rama and Lakshmana appeared before the Nawab who at once made a reparation by endowing the temple with the revenue of that Taluk. It is also said that he began to send table rice for use (as Talambralu) in the annual Ramanavami celebrations. The details of the story and the usage have been handed down by the famous musical work Ramadas Charitra which is considered to be as important as Tyagaraja's song collection. History however does not contain the details of the story. The inscription that is now found in the temple premises however shows that in more recent times (i. e.) in the time of Chandulal Bahadur, the Prime minister of the Nizam who died in 1844, the inam grants to the temple were renewed by the administrators of the taluq. The endowment of the Jagir granted to the Temple was afterwards converted into an annual money grant of Rs 40,000 which has been lately cut down to Rs 19,125.

Some Mussalman Kings of India

Even before Akbar the great, there were Mussalman kings who tried to draw the Hindus and Mussalman together in bonds of a common culture.

Hussain Shah (1452-1478) was the Nawab who ruled Bengal. He was a great patron of Bengali vernacular literature as well as vernacular art. By his order one of his courtiers Maladhar Vasu translated Bhagavata from Sanskrit into Bengali. He also ordered the translation of Mahabharata to be made. He originated the religious cult which tried to unite Musalmans and Hindus in divine worship by using a common name for the Deity compounded of Sanskrit word Satya, and an Arabic word Pir. Satyanarayana, a

Synonym of Vishnu and had been worshipped in Bengal from time immemorial. 'Pir' was the Arabic equivalent for the Hindu conception of the Supreme Spirit. In his History of Bengali Language and Literature, P 222, Dinesh Chandra Sen says that the Bengali literature has several poems dedicated to the worship of Satya Pir. He forestalled Akbar the great.*

Hasan Gangu Bahmani

Hasan Gangu the founder of the Bahmani dynasty was a servant of Gangu,a Brahman astrologer who enjoyed high favour at the Delhi Court. He discovered a treasure in the latter's field and gave it to the Brahmin who brought it to the notice of the king. Hasan became a commander of the army in the revolt against Muhamad Tughlak by the Hindus & Musalmans in 1347. Having defeated the imperial forces with the aid of the rajah of Telingana he assumed sovereignty as the first Muhammadan King of Deccan at Gulbarga in 1347 and took name of Bahmani in gratitude of his former master who became his finance minister: 'Bahmain', is a corruption of 'Brahmani' which means a Brahmin.‡

Ibrahim Qutub Shah

He was the ruler of Golconda from 1550 to 1580. He was a great patron of Telugu Literature. Many poets and scholars adorned his court and some Telugu poetical works are dedicated to him. Two of them are, 'Thapathi Samvaranam" by Gangadhara Kavi, Yayathi charithram by Ponnaganti Thelaganarya. There are many Telugu 'Chatu Padyams' or poems describing incidents of his literary life and camp. He is immortalized in literature under the name of "Malkibharam" which sounds more like a Hindu than a Moslem name. A small village a few miles from Bezwada on the Hyderabad road is called 'Ibharam patnam" after this ruler and contains traces of an old and flourishing Muslim town.

* (See Aryan Rule—Haval, p 337.)

‡ The Godavary District Manual. P. 211.

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